

*Two Solitudes — Reviewed by Eleanor McNaught*

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fifth Year of Issue

May, 1945

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## The Elections

EDITORIAL



## Constitutional Issues In Ontario

EUGENE FORSEY



CANADA: FILM PRODUCER

Graham McInnes and K. R. Gauthier



THE VETERANS LOOK AROUND

Samuel Roddan

CARTELS

Gus Harris



Poetry, Correspondence

Book Reviews

Vol. XXV, No. 292

Toronto, Ontario, May, 1945

Twenty-five Cents

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He had an unequalled capacity for communication. No other public man in any country in our day has created that sense of intimate relationship with his fellow-citizens which made his death seem a special personal loss to each of them. And this unique personal appeal was translatable into every language. To millions of non-Americans the name of Roosevelt meant the hope of peace and freedom and decency for our world. We can ill afford the loss of such a force in the difficult days that lie ahead.

## The Post-Roosevelt Era

The American newspapers and other publicity agencies are engaged in a well-meant effort to puff Harry Truman into the measurements of a statesman, but it might as well be admitted frankly that he is a little man. His regime will not be marked by the corruption of Harding, and it would be an insult to compare his stature with the mean pettiness of Coolidge; but it is significant that the first thought of commentators on President Roosevelt's death was of the reaction after the deaths of Wilson and Lincoln. Everyone agrees that the next three years will be marked by a resurgence of the power of Congress over the executive; and, with the present Congress, this means a regime dominated by the policies of orthodox big business. There will now be little

effective check on the ideas of business men as to how the economy should be reconverted from war to peace. The great Roosevelt experiment of using one of the old parties as the instrument for imaginative social and economic policies is irrevocably at an end. Henceforth the Democratic party will be as conservative as the Republican. And there is no third party, nor any hope of a third party. This reaction towards conservatism had, of course, already set in before the death of President Roosevelt; the most recent mark of it is the fact that not one of the official American delegates appointed by President Roosevelt to San Francisco represents a point of view to the left of centre. But there was always a chance that, once peace was established, the Roosevelt leadership would initiate a second post-war New Deal.

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The new President starts under the handicap of not being very closely conversant with foreign affairs. With the best will in the world he will not be able to provide the effective leadership that was given by his predecessor. And it needs to be remembered that continued solidarity among the Big Three can only be achieved by determined, patient and imaginative leadership. American big business especially will be a divisive force; for its economic ambitions lead straight to collision with British big business, while its social and political ideas make it, next to the Catholic Church, the chief anti-Soviet influence on this continent.

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state? The British in north-west Germany and the Russians in Silesia will control the important industrial areas, while the Americans will be located in the comparatively unimportant south-west. How far have the three armies a co-ordinated policy?

## Before San Francisco

The atmosphere, as the delegates gather for the San Francisco conference, is not too encouraging. Since Yalta there has been a long series of revelations about the policies of the Big Three which have made most people cynical. Up to the moment of writing, Russia still disagrees with the Anglo-American governments about Poland, and her puppet-government is still running Polish affairs; its latest published move has been to annex considerable German Baltic territory. What goes on in countries under Russian control—Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia—is a subject on which neither the governments nor the newspapers of her allies can get satisfactory information. She has recently extended her area of unilateral action apparently to Turkey, from whom she has demanded a revision of treaty relations. And on top of all this it was suddenly revealed that Stalin at Yalta had demanded three votes in the General Assembly of the United Nations, and that Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed. The unfavorable impression created by this news was removed momentarily by the denunciation of the Russo-Japanese non-aggression treaty and the announcement that Molotov, instead of a junior official, would head the Russian delegation to San Francisco. But it is broadly hinted in the United States that the *quid pro quo* to be obtained for Russia's Japanese action is a free hand in Manchuria and Korea.

Great Britain goes to the conference having failed to persuade the British Dominions to join in a united front there. But she has succeeded in getting a pan-Arab league launched as a counter to Russian and American tendencies to interfere in the Middle East and a check to Jewish Zionist ambitions. And presumably she has lined up the Dominions against any schemes for international trusteeship over colonies, just as Mr. Lloyd George lined them up at Paris in 1919 on the subject of the late German colonies.

As for the Americans, they are divided amongst themselves on the question whether they want a general international trusteeship over all imperial possessions, or whether they want to take exclusive possession for themselves of certain Pacific island bases. They are becoming more and more suspicious of the Russian and British tendency to rely on special alliances and spheres of influence for their security instead of on the general security system to be set up at San Francisco. On the other hand, many of their military leaders are demanding just such a special American sphere of influence in the Pacific; and the American navy doesn't hide its strong disinclination to let the British into a share of the Pacific fighting.

From all sides—from small states and from various associations within the big states—have come proposals for incorporation into the new international Charter of a statement of the principles for which the organization is to stand. Human beings cannot be happy unless they can at least profess to be acting for the ends of freedom and justice; though one would think that a contemplation of what has happened to the general principles of the Atlantic Charter in four short years would have lessened our appetite for this sort of thing. At any rate the idealists will no doubt be provided with as grandiloquent a preamble about freedom

and justice as the skill of draftsmen can concoct. There have also been general demands for a modification of the excessive powers of veto allowed to the five big states, and for more effective provision for amendment of the Charter in future; and Canada is finding a good deal of support for her suggestion of a special place to be given to the "middle" powers in the new set-up.

All of which promises lively if not harmonious sessions at San Francisco. Out of it all will probably emerge an international security structure not much different from the Dumbarton Oaks draft. And whatever doubts we may have concerning particular features, there is no doubt that Canada should join the new organization. Let us not, however, be too eager to still our doubts by the reflection that all will be well as long as the Big Three stick together. They are doing so much manoeuvring against one another already that we should be able to guess pretty accurately what the nature of their co-operation in the future is likely to be.

## That Single Commonwealth Voice

In London during the past month there have been held two British Commonwealth conferences. One was an unofficial one of delegates from the various Institutes of International Affairs, and the other was an official one of government representatives to consider the subjects on the agenda of San Francisco. The reports that have emerged from both of them have made one thing clear, that both official and unofficial delegates are agreed that each member-state of the Commonwealth must speak for itself in international affairs and that it is neither possible nor desirable for the Commonwealth to speak with one voice. But The Canadian Press has been nobly assisting our tory papers in Canada to give quite a different impression about the official conference by its despatches speaking of the conference as a sort of imperial Cabinet. And the Progressive Conservative party in parliament has clearly dropped Mr. Bracken's caution on this topic. The one point which its chief speakers emphasized in the recent session was this single Commonwealth voice. They were careful not to define how the united front of the six British nations is to be attained, and whose voice is to be the single voice speaking for all of them; but they were equally careful to insinuate that there was some lurking disloyalty in Messrs. King and Coldwell and their followers when they repudiated this tory conception of the nature of British Commonwealth unity. Evidently the Progressive Conservatives under the McCullagh-Drew leadership have decided to revert to the good old tory colonialism again and to work the loyalty cry for all it is worth. No comment is needed on the effects which this will have in Quebec, but it will be interesting to see what use it is to tory candidates in Colonel Drew's Ontario, in Mr. Green's British Columbia and in Mr. Diefenbaker's Saskatchewan—or even in Mr. Hanson's New Brunswick.

## Clarence in Wonderland

As one radio commentator remarked, it was only the tragic death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which overshadowed all other news throughout the world, that prevented the Canadian Government's white paper, tabled in the House of Commons by the Hon. Clarence Decatur Howe on April 13, from getting the prominence in the daily press to which the importance of its subject matter entitled it. But perhaps, though the reason was so deplorable, it was just as well. The Canadian people were saved from a shock to their hopes

and a sense of incongruity, which the blazoning of this revealing document would have made painfully acute. At the moment of writing, no Canadian paper seems to have printed an adequate summary of its contents. But its main tenor and significance are clear. Instead of a constructive plan for dealing with the gravest problem that has ever confronted the Canadian nation, the government has declared its intention of gambling on the ability of private enterprise to provide the answer. We are told that the employment of 900,000 more workers than in 1939 will do the trick, and to accomplish this it is proposed to "increase export trade over the prewar rate, reduce taxation and develop a fiscal policy to encourage private enterprise, and plan public projects, particularly for the development and conservation of natural resources." Private enterprise will be assisted by a continuance of mutual aid, by credits to foreign countries, and by the lowering of taxes, and the government will stand by with a program of public works till such time as it becomes clear that private enterprise is going to fall down on its job. This, says the white paper, "will call for government expenditures and revenues at higher than prewar levels; nevertheless they are consistent, in the government's view, with post-war taxation at substantially lower levels than at present." How this feat of legerdemain is to be accomplished we are not told. Somehow one is reminded of the Mock Turtle's remark to Alice: "That's the reason they are called lessons, because they lessen from day to day." One would suppose that our present governors had gone to school in Wonderland, and were still dwelling there. How else can we explain their incapacity to learn, and their seeming conviction that the way to solve our economic problems is to go on doing less and less and applying to them the same old rule of thumb notions they learned in the first book?

## Bureaucrat

The most cheering news item that we came across during the past month was about an obscure American engineer named Jack Savage. He has recently been in China advising upon a plan for damming the Yangtze river in a power scheme to develop some ten million kilowatts. He is the man, though we had never come across his name before, who designed all the big famous dams for the American government which have made engineering history in the last decade. He has been in government service for years; and his annual salary, after constructive exploits that surpass any of those of his contemporaries in the engineering profession, is \$8,750. It is from bureaucrats like Jack Savage that our "free enterprise" enthusiasts will save us if propaganda can do it.

## The Elections

► SO WE are to choose a new national government on June 11, and those of us in Ontario will also be voting for a provincial government on June 4. Happily the campaign for the war loan will overshadow party politics until well on in May, and we shall have to endure the worst of the political mud-slinging for only a comparatively limited period. Let us hope that the climate in the first half of June turns out to be as delightful as it has been during the first half of April.

The manoeuvring of Messrs. King and Drew to get an advantage in the choice of election dates does not matter any more now that the dates are settled. Obviously Col. Drew was hoping that the relative success of the Conservatives in Ontario just before a federal election—and Ontario is the only province in which they can count on much success—would influence the voting in the rest of the Dominion; and obviously Mr. King was afraid of this very thing. That was all that the two worthies were thinking of, and one wonders where the dupes and suckers live in Canada who could be taken in by the clumsy performances of these two high-souled hypocrites. This unscrupulous manipulation of election dates by every government in Canada makes one often wish that we could adopt the American system of elections at fixed periods. Incidentally the Americans regularly hold their state and federal elections on the same day, and the voters use the same ballot papers or the same voting-machines for the two sets of candidates without any confusion resulting.

All the signs, except the professionally optimistic predictions of the party spokesmen, point to a new parliament in which no party will have a majority. Let us remember that the old two-party system came finally to an end in Canada with the end of the last war. Since 1919 we have steadily had more than two parties competing for office, and we have not had a general election which gave a majority of the popular votes to any party except once; that was in the last election of 1940 when Mr. King's Liberals won 55% of the votes. We had better adjust our thinking to this established political habit of the Canadian people. The working of our extremely undemocratic electoral system may give a majority of the seats at Ottawa now to one party and now to another; but during the past twenty-five years the Canadian voters have not, except once, given a mandate to any party to carry out its own special ideas of policy to the exclusion of the ideas of other parties. Government policy must be a compromise in Canada because of the way in which Canadian public opinion is divided. This needs to be borne in mind by the hot gospellers of all parties. Narrow one-sided partisans, the Meighens and the Bennetts, are not adapted to the realities of Canadian politics.

A clear-cut two-party system would undoubtedly be more satisfactory than our present confusion. It will come just as soon as the growth of the CCF reaches the point that all Canadians recognize it as the one effective party of the Left, like the Labor party in Britain. And this situation will compel the two old parties of the Right to amalgamate, as they practically have done already in British Columbia and Alberta, and as they would have done in the federal field before this but for the personal rivalries of their leaders. In the coming election, however, we hardly expect the CCF to reach such a position. Meanwhile the Liberals and Conservatives are calculating that they have one more chance before the deluge, and each is gambling that the swing of the pendulum may once more bring it back to the control of office and patronage.

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On the one hand the main stock-in-trade of the two old parties is evidently going to be the bogey of authoritarian socialist regimentation. This attempt of theirs to work up a panic is so patently dishonest that they have entrusted it to the advertising agencies to develop properly. The chief forces that threaten to regiment the Canadian people are now, as they have been in the past, poverty and ignorance and unemployment.

On the other hand the argument is already being used that the CCF tide has ebbed since the Ontario and Saskatchewan elections and that the new movement hasn't a chance. The Canadian Gallup Poll is making its contribution to this argument. In the United States the Gallup figures gave great comfort to the Republicans until the very eve of the election because, so it was revealed later, Dr. Gallup was weighting them after he received the returns from his samplers by some private hunches of his own as to the effect of the size of the vote on the chances of the two parties. In Canada, we are told, this is not done. But the Gallup figures show no one as doubtful, a strange state of affairs two months before the elections.

The chief hope of the Liberals to come back as the largest group is that they will hold a large proportion of their Quebec seats. What is going on in the French province we do not profess to understand, but it is clear that Liberal prospects in Ontario and on the Prairies are of the gloomiest. As for the Conservatives, they appear to have decided on an appeal which reduces them to a purely English-Canadian group; they have abandoned Quebec so far as collecting votes for avowed "Progressive Conservative" candidates is concerned. They hope in the English-speaking provinces to exploit the feeling against Mr. King which has centred around the conscription issue, and to make use of the loyalty cry by talking vaguely but loudly about a united British Commonwealth front in world affairs. They cannot possibly come anywhere near a majority with these two cries, for even in English Canada their effectiveness is to be doubted. So they must still be calculating on producing after the election some working alliance with the Duplessis gang in Quebec, which hopes to swing Quebec by making exactly the opposite appeal to that which the Drew-McCullagh forces will be making in Ontario. This is the scheme which worked so well for Borden in 1911, but we have a suspicion that the people of both Ontario and Quebec are politically more sophisticated today than they were in 1911.

The chief thing to remember is that we are engaged in choosing the government which will be responsible for meeting the problems of the first three or four post-war years. The Conservatives obviously do not want to talk about this; they hope to win by appealing to the Past. The Liberals have a magnificent argument in the family allowance measure which is now coming into operation. But on most other topics all that they have are noble sentiments. Their labor record is bad, and they have not committed themselves to anything but generalities on health insurance, housing, a full employment policy, or such questions. They have buried these questions in such a flood of words that they have almost succeeded in killing public belief that anything concrete will be done by any government—which is perhaps what they aimed at doing all the time.

Most important of all, neither of the old parties has any policy which it is prepared to reveal on the constitutional question which lies behind all other post-war difficulties. In the inevitable dislocations which will be caused by the cessation of war employment and the loss of guaranteed export markets for all that we can produce, we shall need a

national government equipped with full constitutional powers to tackle economic problems of national scope. Under the B.N.A. Act, as currently interpreted by the courts, no national government can have such powers. And we missed the chance to make the desirable adjustments which were recommended by the Rowell-Sirois report. The courts will allow the federal authority during the war emergency (under the "peace, order and good government" clause in Section 91) to regulate prices and wages, to determine labor conditions, to ration foodstuffs and all consumption materials and to allocate supplies for industry. But all these federal powers come to an end on the day that the courts decide that the war emergency has ended, and we return to the futility of the 1930's. Dominion and provinces today have settled their financial relationships by a sensible arrangement under which the federal authorities control the main sources of taxation revenue and pay subsidies to the provinces, but this condition also comes to an end after the war, and we return to the quarreling and competition of the pre-war years. The CCF is the only party which has spoken clearly on the necessity for constitutional amendment if we are to have a national government competent to deal with post-war economic problems; and even it does not talk about the subject incessantly enough.

Whatever government comes into office we shall have to experiment for the next few years with some kind of a mixed economy. The wildest zealots for "free enterprise" cannot hope to abolish all government controls; and every sensible man knows that large-scale government investment is going to be necessary to keep our economy functioning at a high level of employment. Government enterprise is inevitable to some degree and in some fields of our economy. The question which faces the electorate is whether it is better to have this government enterprise carried on by a party which believes in it and which is free from the sinister control exercised through campaign contributions from big business, or whether to entrust it to one of the old parties who will embark on such a program only very reluctantly after another severe depression has forced them to do so. The question, in short, is whether we are to start the public planning and development of our economy in time to avoid the post-war depression or whether we are to wait until the depression has forced our hand.

## Trivia

She collected possessions — books  
she never read,  
silks never to be sewn, hooks  
and tassels and thread;

little bits of velvet and lace,  
phonograph records, tall  
vases, and pictures, to be framed and placed  
upon the wall.  
(She never used these at all!)

No time had she for living.  
The dream world of the mind  
absorbed her utmost giving.  
All these she leaves behind.

Edna Ford.

# Constitutional Issues in Ontario

Eugene Forsey

► THE DEFEAT of the Drew Government in the Ontario Legislature has revealed afresh that many Canadians, including not a few newspaper editors, have hardly more than a nodding acquaintance with the principles of British parliamentary government. It has revealed also that the ignorance is often most profound among those who are loudest in their professions of devotion to British institutions. A study of the statements of Mr. Drew and his journalistic supporters just before and after the dissolution shows the following quaint notions on the subject:

(1) "The airing of political theories" has "no place in the Legislative Chamber . . . It is not in the public interest that the Legislative Chamber of Ontario should become the forum for such a political campaign at great expense to the taxpayers. The sort of speeches we have been hearing for the past five weeks, and the sort of speeches that would be heard at any further meetings of the Legislature, should be made before public political gatherings or over the radio." (Mr. Drew's official statement, March 26.)

(2) For several Opposition parties to join in voting no confidence in a Government, with a view to replacing it by another Government in the same Parliament is a species of moral turpitude, verging on high treason: "dishonest," a "conspiracy," a "shady scheme," a "sinister alliance." (*Globe and Mail, Ottawa Journal.*)

(3) "The combined Opposition groups voted for an election." (Mr. Drew's official statement.) The Opposition "forced" an election, "ordered" a dissolution; "the only practical course was an appeal to the electorate." (*Globe and Mail.*)

(4) The Government could not resign and make way for an alternative Government because the Prime Minister would not have been justified in advising the Lieutenant-Governor to call on the Leader of the Opposition. (*Globe and Mail, Telegram.*)

(5) If the Lieutenant-Governor had called on the Leader of the Opposition he could have called on him to form a coalition. (*Ottawa Journal, news report, March 22.*)

(6) Once the Lieutenant-Governor had given his consent to a dissolution, the dissolution had to take place forthwith. For the Government to have come back to the House and tried to get Supply voted and essential, non-contentious bills passed, would have meant "unorganized mob government." (*Globe and Mail.*)

Not one of the notions has the slightest foundation in fact.

(1) Mr. Drew's statement that Parliament is no place for "airing political theories" breathes contempt for parliamentary government in every line. Parliament by its very name is the place where the representatives of the people "talk" about public questions, abstract and concrete. It is the Great Council of the Realm. Discussion of political theories has always been one of the glories of British Parliaments; some of the most memorable debates in the Mother of Parliaments have dealt with nothing else. To suggest that such debates are out of place shows either gross ignorance of parliamentary history or unpardonable insolence. Parliament is pre-eminently the place for the discussion of all political questions. To relegate such discussion to the hustings and the radio is

to strike at the very foundation of parliamentary institutions. And Mr. Drew strikes that blow in the name of "strong constitutional government!"

(2) One would suppose that no Opposition parties had ever before joined to defeat a Government and replace it by another one without an election. Actually, it has happened scores of times, all over the British Commonwealth. It has happened at least eight times in Britain itself: 1784, 1830, 1846, 1852, 1855, 1859, 1866, and January, 1924. Burke, Russell, Gladstone, Disraeli, Asquith, Baldwin, Sir John A. Macdonald and a host of other eminent statesmen all took part in precisely such action. Every one of them assumed without question that it was perfectly proper to try to change a government without an election.

(3) The combined Opposition groups did not vote for an election, force an election or order a dissolution; an appeal to the people was not the only practical course. The Opposition voted for a change of government, which could perfectly well have taken place without an election, as it has scores of times, all over the British Commonwealth. Sir Robert Peel, defeated in the House in 1846, did not dissolve; he resigned, and made way for Lord John Russell. Lord Derby, in 1852, defeated in the newly elected House, did not dissolve; he resigned, and made way for Lord Aberdeen. Lord Aberdeen, defeated in the same House in 1855, did not dissolve; he resigned, and made way for Lord Palmerston. That one parliament saw three governments. Similarly, in 1866, Lord Russell, defeated in the House, did not dissolve; he resigned, and made way for Lord Derby. In the Commonwealth of Australia, the Parliament of 1903-1906 saw no less than four governments. Mr. Deakin, defeated in the House, April, 1904, resigned, and made way for Mr. Watson. Mr. Watson, defeated in the House in August, 1904, asked for dissolution, was refused, resigned, and made way for Mr. Reid. Mr. Reid, defeated in the House in June, 1905, asked for dissolution, was refused, resigned, and made way for Mr. Deakin. The parliament of 1906-1909 saw three governments. Mr. Deakin, defeated in November, 1908, resigned, and made way for Mr. Fisher. Mr. Fisher, defeated in May, 1909, asked for dissolution, was refused, resigned, and made way for Mr. Deakin again. When the present war broke out, Australia was under a U.A.P.-Country party coalition, headed by Mr. Menzies. This government dissolved parliament in August, 1940. It failed to get a clear majority, but carried on, first under Mr. Menzies, then under Mr. Fadden, till October, 1941, when, defeated in the House, it resigned and made way for Mr. Curtin. In South Africa, in 1939, there was a coalition government under General Hertzog. This government split, the prime minister's policy was defeated in the House, he asked for a dissolution, was refused, resigned, and made way for General Smuts, who carried on in the existing parliament till 1943, when an election was held in the normal course. Exactly the same sort of thing has taken place over and over again in the Australian colonies and states, in New Zealand, in the old Province of Canada, and in several provinces since Confederation.

In short, Mr. Drew did not need to ask for dissolution. He could have resigned, as plenty of other prime ministers, not less eminent, have done. Instead, he deliberately chose to bring on an election. The responsibility for the election is his, and his alone.

(4) If Mr. Drew had resigned, there would have been no necessity for him to offer any advice as to his successor. On the contrary, as Hon. H. A. Bruce pointed out in the House of Commons last December 5, a retiring prime minister has no right to offer advice as to the choice of his successor. He can advise only if the Crown asks him to, and even then the

Crown is not obliged to follow his advice. The authorities on this point are legion, unanimous and emphatic. They include Sir John A. Macdonald, who explicitly applied the doctrine to lieutenant-governors. It was Mr. Drew's duty either to ask for dissolution or resign. It was not his business to offer any advice as to his successor.

Furthermore, as Dr. Bruce also pointed out last December, if a government is defeated in the House or at the polls, and resigns, the Crown *must* call on the Leader of the Opposition to form a Government. It has no alternative. This rule also is amply supported by precedent and authority, and, as Dr. Bruce said, seems clearly good sense. Anything else would expose the Crown to accusations of partisanship.

The *Globe and Mail*, however, insists that the lieutenant-governor could not have called on Mr. Jolliffe (a) because, if the Progressive Conservatives, with 38 seats, could not carry on, there was no sense in supposing that the C.C.F., with 32, could; (b) because a summons to Mr. Jolliffe would have been "forcing" a Socialist government on the province "without a precedent, at least, to show that Socialism might find favor with a majority of Ontario voters."

The first argument overlooks the British case of 1924. There, the Conservatives had 42 per cent of the House (exactly the same as Mr. Drew), Labor had 31 per cent (as against the C.C.F.'s 35.6), and the Liberals most of the rest. Yet on the defeat of the Conservatives in the House, Labor took office and carried on for most of the rest of the year. It could not have happened; but it did. If Labor could carry on with 31 per cent of the House, why not the C.C.F. with 35.6?

The second argument rests on a complete misconception. The King, in 1924, did not "force" a Socialist government on Britain, though there, as here, there was no "precedent" to show that Socialism found favor with a majority of the voters. The Crown has no power to "force" a government on anybody. All it can do is to invite the Leader of the Opposition to take office. Whether the new government can continue in office depends on the House.

In short, when a defeated government resigns, either voluntarily or as a result of refusal of dissolution, neither the defeated prime minister nor the Crown has any right to decide who shall hold office. The Leader of the Opposition has a constitutional right to take office if he wants to; the House has the constitutional right, and the power, to decide whether he shall remain in office.

(5) If Mr. Drew had resigned, or been refused dissolution, the lieutenant-governor would have had to call on Mr. Jolliffe to form a government. He could not have called on him to form any particular kind of government. The Crown can always, of course, suggest to a prime minister the inclusion of this or that person in the cabinet, or the exclusion of anyone from the cabinet; it can also suggest that a coalition would be desirable, or undesirable. But it can only suggest. The decision rests with the prime minister himself. If he insists on a particular name or set of names, if he insists on a coalition, or refuses to form a coalition, that ends the matter. The Crown must bow to his will. The lieutenant-governor had no right whatever to call on Mr. Jolliffe to form a coalition; only the right to call on him to form a government, of whatever kind he, Mr. Jolliffe, saw fit. If such a government proved unacceptable to the House, the House would deal with it. The lieutenant-governor would have had no constitutional right to meddle in the matter at all.

(6) Even when the lieutenant-governor had consented to a dissolution, there was no necessity for it to take place forth-

with. On the contrary, the constitutional course would have been for the government to meet the House again, ask for interim Supply for the period of the election, try to get essential and non-contentious bills passed, and then dissolve. In Britain, the invariable practice, when a government has been defeated in the House, has been to come back to the House, announce impending dissolution, have Supply voted for the period of the election (unless, as in 1831, Supply has already been refused, or, as in 1924, already voted for the whole year), and finish essential and non-contentious business before dissolving. Melbourne did it in 1841 (June 4-22), Derby in 1852 (May 10-July 1) and 1859 (April 4-22), Palmerston in 1857 (March 5-21), Disraeli in 1868 (May 4-July 31), and Gladstone in 1886 (June 10-25). It is a novel view of British history that during the periods noted Britain was under "unorganized mob government."

The same rule as to the necessity of having Supply voted has been generally held to apply in the Commonwealth overseas. Sir Robert Borden, in 1911, said (*Hansard*, 1911-12, p. 52) that according to all the authorities, "when a dissolution of Parliament is in preparation or under consideration, the very first duty of a government is to make provision for the Supplies," and that there could be "no graver violation of the duties of a government . . . under constitutional usage" than failure to follow such a course. What was good enough for Disraeli was not good enough for Mr. Drew. Disraeli was only a Conservative; Mr. Drew is a Progressive Conservative. What Sir Robert Borden denounced, Mr. Drew practises. Sir Robert Borden also was only a Conservative; Mr. Drew is a Progressive Conservative. Mr. Drew, indeed, can cite only two Canadian precedents to support his course: Sir Wilfrid Laurier's in 1911, when he dissolved without asking for Supply, a course which drew from Sir Robert Borden the scathing comment just quoted; and Mr. King's in 1940, when he followed Laurier's bad example. Mr. Drew has said that the removal of Mr. King's "weak and incompetent government" from office is one of the prime objects of his political career; but when it comes to violating constitutional usage he is, apparently, perfectly content to follow Mr. King's lead.

Some of Mr. Drew's supporters have proffered the excuse that if he had come back and met the House, the Opposition would have obstructed his attempts to get Supply and finish up essential business. Unfortunately for this argument, all three Opposition parties publicly and explicitly stated, after the government's defeat and before the dissolution, that they would facilitate Supply and the transaction of essential business. Even if they had not, Mr. Drew was constitutionally bound to make the attempt, if necessary asking the lieutenant-governor to try to get assurances from the Opposition. If the attempt failed, then Mr. Drew would have had an incontestable right to an immediate dissolution; and the responsibility for the ensuing difficulties would then have fallen wholly on the Opposition, instead of wholly on the government, as it now does.

The crisis has not been without its comic aspects. Shortly before the government's defeat, the *Toronto Telegram*, hitherto always more British than the British, and the sworn enemy of Mr. Mackenzie King, declared that "under the British system," if the government were defeated in the House, the Crown might call on the Leader of the Opposition to form a government, but that in Ontario this was not so, because "the present prime minister of Canada has declared it a constitutional privilege of a minority government to dodge an adverse vote and advise dissolution," and in that contention he had been "upheld by the votes of the Canadian people." An important part of the British system of



government abolished in Ontario, because Mr. King won the 1926 federal election! Not thus has the *Telegram* spoken in the past. Confronted with its heresy, it offered a half-hearted recantation, agreeably garnished with a pair of new errors.

A second piece of comic relief was provided by Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, in a letter in the *Globe and Mail*, in which, after virtually admitting that the government ought to have met the House again, asked for Supply and tried to pass essential measures, and excusing it on the ground of Mr. Hepburn's instability, he wound up: "Finally common sense tells us that the fuss about a dissolution is just a tempest in a teapot; that no real harm will be suffered." Breach of century-old British constitutional usage, a breach denounced in the strongest terms by Sir Robert Borden, of no real importance, "just a tempest in a teapot!" Who would have ventured to predict that the Conservative party, even the Progressive Conservative party, in Ontario of all places, would ever come to this! How are the mighty fallen! How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!

The implications of the Ontario crisis go far beyond local or temporary issues. They involve the whole nature of parliamentary government and its operation under a three-party system. Under a two-party system, one party always has a clear majority. Hence a government can always get a dissolution whenever it wants to; changes of government always involve a general election; and the public suffers no serious inconvenience, because the elections occur only at relatively infrequent intervals and for substantial reasons of public policy. The government is under no temptation to make them more frequent.

Under a three-party system, however, the position may be very different. Often, no party has a clear majority. This means either a coalition or a minority government. Either is always in danger of defeat in the House. If we carry over into this new situation the assumption that a government can get a dissolution whenever it wants to, we may find ourselves spending most of our time fighting general elections.

This is an intolerable situation, for which there is no excuse either in common sense or in British constitutional usage. Under the British Constitution, Parliament is elected to transact public business, and ought not to be dissolved till the end, or near the end, of its maximum term, except for substantial reasons of public policy. An election is not a picnic. It is a very serious matter. It costs money. It involves a great deal of trouble, turmoil and inconvenience to large numbers of people. Elections should accordingly take place only when public necessity requires them. They should not be held simply because a particular party finds itself unable to command a majority in the House. If the existing House has defeated all possible governments, or made it plain that it will do so; or if a government's majority is so narrow that it cannot pass any legislation; or if some great new question of public policy has arisen on which the electors should plainly be consulted; then there should be an election. Otherwise, the existing House should be allowed to transact the business it was elected to transact, if not under one government, then under another. This is the classic British doctrine, stated over and over again by Peel, Russell, Gladstone, Asquith (with the explicit approval of Mr. Lloyd George), and in this country by no less a person than Mr. Meighen. Asquith's statement of the doctrine, in 1923, is particularly notable. It came from an unexcelled constitutional lawyer, perhaps the leading parliamentarian of his generation, leader of the Liberal party for twenty years, and prime minister through two of the greatest constitutional

crises of modern times. His opinion has been twice endorsed as "unimpeachably accurate" by the venerable Conservative authority, Sir John Marriott; by Mr. Meighen, who in 1926 quoted it as decisive; and by Dr. Evatt, Australia's Labor Attorney-General and Minister of External Affairs, a former Judge of the Australian High Court, and a constitutional authority of international reputation. Even Mr. King, in 1926, was very careful to admit, both in the House and on the hustings, that the governor-general could properly, in certain circumstances, refuse dissolution.

Unless Canada has abandoned the British constitutional system, therefore, it must be taken as settled that, both in the Dominion and the provinces, a Government defeated in the House has no right to a dissolution on demand; that its duty, in many instances, is simply to resign and make way for another Government in the existing Parliament; and that if it disregards that duty and asks for dissolution when it should not, the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor may refuse and call on the Leader of the Opposition to take office. It must also be taken as settled that, even if dissolution is granted, it is the duty of the Government to meet the House again, ask for the necessary Supply (if it has not already been voted, or refused), and try to get essential and non-contentious bills passed. Any other conclusions can only mean chaos and confusion.

## Cartels

*Gus Harris*

► THE LATEST NEWS from the underground relayed by Reuters to the daily press reveals that attempts are being made to regain for German interests a share of the control of German patents, in other countries, in order to save the German industrial machine.

Only when you read about the activities of Bausch and Lomb Company of Rochester, New York, and the Carl Zeiss Company of Germany can you begin to realize the significance of this news item and the part that certain of our commercial interests have played in building up Germany's industrial machine after the first world war.

Wendall Berge, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the United States Anti-Trust Division, has produced documentary evidence to prove that the evasion of the disarmament provisions of the Versailles Treaty was facilitated by a cartel agreement between these two companies. When the first world war ended, Carl Zeiss, one of the largest manufacturers of optical and precision instruments, was forbidden to continue the manufacture of military optical goods. Zeiss, however, found no difficulty in moving his plant across the border to start operations under a new name. In this venture he was subsidized from the profits of Zeiss patents in America, through the kind co-operation and sympathetic understanding of Bausch and Lomb. In fact, the latter was so concerned about the survival of this German company that they assured Carl Zeiss that Bausch and Lomb "had accomplished the primary objective of keeping your scientific staff intact at a time when 'Zeiss' could not manufacture war material." To which Zeiss replied, "We had at no time the intention to allow our experience and knowledge of military business to rest, but have, as you know, established the Nedinsco branch for the express purpose so as to keep our place in the world market."

It wasn't very long before Carl Zeiss and Company were so well established that negotiations were soon under way

to divide the world market between the two companies. As time went on, Zeiss became more ambitious and suggested to the American Company that all instruments produced by them after the design and patent rights of Zeiss must bear the latter's name. When Hitler became chancellor, Zeiss displayed more than usual interest in the Bausch and Lomb instruments under manufacture in the United States, and asked for information regarding those in preparation and under trial by the military services.

In 1939, after Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, Carl Zeiss asked Bausch and Lomb for particulars regarding the volume of orders, of all the instruments in which Zeiss patents were being used. B & L kindly proffered the information that they had future orders for the delivery of instruments, patented by Zeiss, to the tune of nearly a million dollars, thus giving the German firm an idea of the military activity that was going on in the United States and elsewhere. But even cartelists sometimes fall out, and these two companies locked horns over a little matter of bidding on United States Navy binoculars. Zeiss bid \$26 on a 600 lot that Bausch and Lomb had already tendered for at \$39.50. Some harsh words were exchanged over this transaction and B & L took their complaint to a United States senator, with the result that an investigation followed and tariffs were readjusted; all of which took the wind out of Mr. Zeiss's sails for a time. This soon blew over, however. Apologies were exchanged and discussions resumed that outlined the benefits of co-operation and the advantages of fixing prices on this particular item. But not before Zeiss had declared that Bausch and Lomb's price of \$39.50 for this binocular was plain robbery. And the American company had suggested in turn that the German bid of \$26 was out of reason. It may have been that the wily Zeiss deliberately cut prices so low as to force a price-fixing agreement. All this squabbling, price-fixing and restrictive agreements, and the parcelling out of world trade on range finding, aircraft height finding and binoculars, etc., created in large part (according to Wendall Berge) the bottleneck later experienced in these instruments during the tragic days of Pearl Harbor and the frantic search for binoculars.

After the first world war all Zeiss-owned patents were seized by the United States Government. But Zeiss learned from experience; and so by this latter arrangement his inventions were patented in the United States by Bausch and Lomb, in order to prevent them being confiscated in the event of another war, when business between the two would be suspended until the "straw men" got them together again. When all this came to light in 1940, Bausch and Lomb were forbidden to carry out any further agreements with Carl Zeiss. But the damage had been done. It isn't hard now to assess the important part that this huge German concern played in the Hitler war machine.

This is just one incident in the activities of international conspirators in Wendall Berge's new book *Cartels* (Public Affairs Press, \$5.50 in Canada), which names names and reveals that wherever cartels were in existence there would be an industry where one could expect to find bottlenecks, even in the life-giving pharmaceuticals. Berge also names the firms that turned over the Latin American market in certain drugs to the Germans (and we wondered at the reason for the Nazi activity in Latin America). He also tells of other firms who agreed not to export to Great Britain any more than a limited quantity of magnesium, so that foreign firms would be encouraged to stay out of American markets, and American out of foreign.

The ordinary person who reads this book soon becomes aware of the fact that cartels are the greatest curse of our

day. Businessmen, from the smallest even to the great Henry Kaiser, have been moved to realize that there can be too much freedom in free enterprise when some commercial interests can barter the lives of the people and decide the destiny of whole nations in order to make profits.

Well, according to the news item, the "straw men," the agents of the cartelists, are out and about again to renew "old acquaintance" and revive their international trade. Regardless of the Yalta Declaration, which proposes to occupy and control Germany, remove and destroy all military equipment, eliminate and control all German industry that could be used for military production, if nothing is done to destroy the cartels and our own business interests are as co-operative when this war is over as they were after the last, the "straw men" won't have much trouble regaining the lost fortunes of the German industrialists and laying the foundations of the third world war.

## The Veterans Look Around

### Samuel Roddan

► THEY ARE BEGINNING to collect in the "beer cellars" already. Not in any alarming numbers, of course; but hard little homogeneous cores are forming. The groups are small and they have a certain independence. Most of the members have still their savings and gratuities, but too many of them have not yet secured satisfactory employment. As they order them up, they tug at their bright new ties and run their fingers nervously around their stiff, crisp collars. Some look a little self-conscious, aware of their initial conspicuousness after years of anonymity in khaki. They scrutinize the girls in expensive furs, and then draw their chairs closer together around the table. This is their group.

The average veteran is not nearly as happy as he thought he would be after he had folded away his battle dress for the last time. The old cleavage between civvies and himself has suddenly narrowed, and now the only outward difference is a discharge button, or a limp, on an almost hidden self-consciousness; but for a long while, and often unconsciously, the veteran seeks for a differentiation from the man who did not bear arms. He finds that he himself is now two people; a veteran and a civilian. Each wages a personal and private struggle between two opposed outlooks and perspectives. Civilian re-occupation resolves the conflict quicker than any "helpful psychology." Until he has become happily and gainfully employed the conflict will exist, and no amount of "advice" or "horse-sense" will make a veteran a useful citizen. In the meantime the tavern and beer parlor provide a convenient, though expensive, meeting-place.

What are the veterans pondering and ruminating about as they collect in their enlarging circles? Here are some of the things they are trying to grasp and comprehend, and none of them is petty or irrelevant in their eyes, although each veteran may accord them differing values and emphasis. Let us start off with two, generally accepted, as minor points.

When he first returned to Canada the veteran was dismayed by your lack of knowledge as to the significance and importance of the army insignia and divisional patches which he wore. For two or three years, and often more, the "Div. patch" was one of the sources of his greatest pride and dignity. When Canadian citizens continually stopped him to ask what they meant (either through ignorance or lack of information), it started a chain of questions in his mind. "If

they do not know what this means, or where my division has served, how can they possibly comprehend my own personal experiences? What's the use of trying to explain?" It made him sore that you people knew so little about regimental and divisional prestige and, as the veteran infers (perhaps unfairly), about his own life and army background.

The overseas veterans, and particularly those who have seen action, are not satisfied with the discharge button. There is an ocean of difference between those who have been under shell fire and those who, perhaps through no fault of their own, have not been in action, near the sound of a gun nor even across the pond. Two months after their official discharge everyone gets the same button. Why? The majority of the veterans that I have talked to think it poorly designed, and in the eyes of too many it resembles a cheap high-school pin. They much prefer the significance and distinction of the discharge button of the last war.

But the veteran has more serious complaints. He is annoyed at pictures of party leaders riding to the front in jeeps and waving their hats to the boys in the slits, or the "human touches" of them bending over hospital beds in England; at flashy advertisements in which a picture of the veteran or soldier is used as a stimulus to drink apple juice or install better plumbing; at well-oiled parties in his town to raise funds for "soldiers' comforts" when his comrades are still crouching in ditches; at the flood of "When He Comes Home" articles in which the veteran is to be treated as though he were a pregnant woman; at the escapist and glamorous fiction padding popular Canadian and American magazines presenting the soldier as an emotional and sentimental adolescent. The veteran has come to despise the stock war films in which the soldier is made to look like a boy scout and where there is no more than a few feet of accuracy in the war scenes.

More important still, many of our veterans feel that they are under a serious handicap through their lack of knowledge of the current political scene in Canada. The army educational services overseas are doing excellent work, but they have always been understaffed. The veterans have been away a long time. The majority of them are confused and uninformed. "What are all these progressive groups?" they ask. Admittedly, it is hard enough for the average Canadian, who has always been in Canada, to keep them straightened out in his own mind, but at least the returning veterans should be given a factual and unbiased account of each party's political philosophy before they leave England. Here, as in matters of recent social legislation, labor unions, co-operatives, reinstatement rights and veteran legislation generally, they have been sadly neglected, and have to acquire the necessary knowledge by painful experiment and often from many weighted sources.

The veteran knows that the democratic parliamentary procedure is much slower than that of the highly centralized command which exists in the army. He knows that he has to get used once again to its slow but steady processes. But he is appalled at first by some of its exponents. Recently I attended a session of our provincial legislature and for a full half hour watched a race-baiting, immature and childish exhibition by one of the members. I felt ashamed and chagrined at the waste of time, the paucity of thought, the general calibre of the man himself. And doubly so, when another veteran sitting beside me leaned over and said, "Did we fight for this sort of thing?" The answer is a truly difficult one. The soldier hates bluff, insincerity and ignorance amongst his own leaders, almost as much as he does the booby traps of the enemy.

Finally, no veteran will become a useful and responsible citizen until he feels that the work he is now doing (or hopes

to get), gives him the security, safety and happiness he and all men crave. The veterans, like all people, have inalienable rights. These rights embrace infinitely more than the opportunity to grease a machine or heave a pick and shovel. He has been digging slit trenches for years. The veteran, like every socially aware citizen, wants access to the creative feelings; to be brought out of the prison that has been his lot almost as far back as he can remember; to be given purposeful employment, security, and the protection of a planned society about him. He wants to be free, clean, dignified. He, above all men, wants to get out of the "beer cellar" and into the sunshine as fast as he can.

## Canada: Film Producer

Graham McInnes and  
K. R. Gauthier

### PART I

► ONE of the unexpected results of the war has been the emergence of Canada as a first-class film producer, with a world-wide reputation and distribution for her films. The *World in Action* series, produced by the National Film Board, reaches 600 theatres in Canada, upwards of 5,000 in the United States and nearly 1,000 in Britain, and plays to an estimated monthly audience of 35 millions. But, in addition to the theatres, Canadian films are distributed non-theatrically to groups all over the world who may be interested in a specific subject such as housing, nutrition, public health, town planning, art or music. Canada has realized heavily on the existence of these internationales of special interests in the film world. While it is impossible actually to estimate her audience, it runs in the millions each month; and the films continue to be shown for years from Reykjavik to Algiers and from Sydney to Mexico City.

But Canada's new power in the informational field means new responsibilities. The dictum, "Trade follows the film," which has supplanted the 19th century aphorism that trade follows the flag, carries with it certain caveats which film-making nations have not been slow to grasp. No nation should make such a display of strength as to overwhelm the spectators in the country where it is shown. OWI Foreign Division, for example, does not trumpet the American achievement to the skies, but uses the virtues of understatement. J. Arthur Rank may and does make films about Britain—her culture, her history and her background—but the approach is suave and self-effacing. Beating a drum gets you nowhere in a world where the necessity for international co-operation and the suspicion of the big stick are about equally strong. It is against this background that the documentary film emerges as a significant medium of cultural and informational exchange, and Canada has quickly learned that a medium-sized nation has opportunities for stating its case which are often denied to larger nations.

Under the National Film Act of May 2, 1939, the National Film Board co-ordinates all government film activities, and is responsible for meeting the production and distribution needs of all government departments. Its job in the educational field has been two-fold: to inform Canadians about themselves; to state Canada's case to her friends abroad. These have been, in retrospect, jobs which have involved the considered use of film as an educational medium in itself, and also its use in connection with other media such as radio forums and discussion guides.

Stating one's case abroad, however, often involves first stimulating at home serious thinking about the problems of





## Spring is in the Air in

Spring is a time of hope for our fighting men who will be overseas just as it is for us in Canada. While we and munitions hope is for release from wartime difficulties and restrictions. And — men theirs is for release from stark discomfort, cruel dangers, Canadian wounds and death.

Must So let us, with our lighter burdens, be as realistic in a strong our hoping as they are in theirs. The victories for which we are so thankful must not blind us to the stubbornness of Bonds. Success of fanaticism in our enemies — to the ruthless hate that way, indeed fights on with the courage of despair.

For men Already it has brought a sharp increase in the price of the one re expected to pay for victory. Deadly enemy weapons must almost limit



Invest  
Buy



*in Other Lands, too!*

will be outmarched and outmassed. Expendable supplies and munitions call for replacement at desperate speed. And—most cruel fact of all—thousands of precious Canadian lives remain in jeopardy.

Must we not, to justify our hope, re-dedicate ourselves in a stronger will to win . . . what our determination to a keener edge? Today we are being asked to buy Victory Bonds. Surely we have learned by now that this is the sure way, indeed the only way, to help make our hopes come true!

For men and women of faith and courage this today is the one resolve: "I *must* buy Victory Bonds to my utmost limit!"

**Invest In The Best  
Buy VICTORY BONDS**

our time. Almost any film about Canadian activities or about international, political and economic issues, can be adapted in the hands of expert leaders to discussions on citizenship. Certain films are being made specifically for this purpose. As their visual impact is powerful, the presentation of such films for high-school audiences, youth clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, churches, and film youth groups, can often stimulate quick and lasting response.

The National Film Board works closely with the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Full information on films has been made available to all farm and citizens' forums through their national and regional offices. The participants in these forums are responsible speakers who discuss on a nation-wide hook-up issues pertinent to the communities and the country as a whole. Groups of citizens in urban and rural communities gather once a week and discuss the farm and citizens' forum broadcasts. Here they express their opinions and help to share the democratic thinking of the country. Wherever possible, these broadcasts are co-ordinated with films shown on the National Film Board circuits.

The Board co-operates with adult education groups, citizenship councils, home and school clubs, trade unions and industrial divisions. It has produced a number of films on agricultural and rural subjects which have formed the main content of certain programs sponsored by the Farm Radio Forum. It has produced films for urban communities and schools, discussion groups have been organized among the older pupils. In many instances, high schools located on the itinerary of the Rural Circuits have sent some of their best pupils to attend the evening showing for adults and to stage a panel discussion for the benefit of the community. This has been particularly effective in areas populated largely by Canadian citizens of foreign origin. The Industrial Division has received the fullest co-operation from the Canadian Manufacturers Association, which has proved of great assistance in the promotion of films. The Trades Union Circuits, sponsored by the Workers Educational Association, the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labor, work very closely with the National Film Board in planning suitable films and in obtaining the broadest possible distribution for them.

All films produced by or on behalf of the National Film Board in Canada are recorded in two languages, French and English. This has given the films the widest possible audience, and has created, in both the production and distribution departments of the Film Board, an elasticity of mind and of program. A recent development has been the production, in conjunction with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, of a series of weekly programs under the title, Ciné-Forum. In these programs documentary films, which have already been screened by the audiences, are discussed by a panel of experts. After the program is over, the listening group in turn goes over the main points which have been raised by the experts. Such work involves increasing co-operation on the part of the National Film Board—the film-making agency—with such organizations as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship.

It is through such collaboration that the film becomes an active instrument in producing education for citizenship, in making Canadians more aware of their new strength and of the new rôle in international politics which their nation is capable of playing after the war. How the film can serve as an instrument for increasing Canada's prestige abroad will be discussed in the next article.

## Film Review

D. Mosdell

► THE REVIEWER who confines his attention to movies as entertainment is unusually fortunate, because he enjoys the legitimate privilege of treating the question of commercial war propaganda pictures as incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial. War propaganda films simply are not entertaining, and since they are never works of art either, there is no necessity for pretending that they make any contribution to our national culture.

There is, however, a great deal of generalizing being done now about something called the German character; and it may just be useful to indicate what brands of German Hollywood has in stock at the moment, particularly since the analyses offered by the industry are for once pretty well on a level with those advanced by the press, the radio, and Lord Vansittart. (It is, of course, possible to put this the other way round.)

First of all we have the thoroughly bad German, represented in such films as *Beast of Berlin*, *Education for Death*, *Hitler's Children*, etc. Germans in these pictures are all bull-necked and guttural. They leer, they strut, they sterilize women, they carry vicious-looking little whips around casually, like walking-sticks: and the same people line up at neighborhood shows to see them as line up to see *Birth of a Baby*, for the same regrettable reasons, which have nothing to do with a desire either for information about the German character, or for simple entertainment. Nobody discusses these films, but millions see them.

Then there is the good, or exceptional, German, best represented in current films by the anti-Fascist character, Kurt Muller, in *Watch on the Rhine*. All the characters in this kind of movie talk too much, and Muller is no exception. He is kind and noble, but when he commits a murder (with what would be called typical German ruthlessness if his motives weren't so admirable) he is as offensive as a chatty executioner. At first sight the results of principled and unprincipled action seem indistinguishable—people get killed; but this impression may only be the result of trying to combine a melodramatic plot, a cast of static characters who are really walking arguments, and a lot of high-sounding political debate.

Just as we were about to give up propaganda films as a completely bad job, *Address Unknown* was made from the well-known short story of the same name. In the original, emphasis was on plot, a neatly turned account of injury and revenge. In the film, however, a real attempt is made to show how a sentimental democrat might gradually become an equally unsatisfactory Nazi. Schultz is a man of average intelligence and German descent, shrewd in business, motivated solely by material ambition for himself and his family, who leaves America for Germany. Once there, his practical mind is impressed by the promise of prosperity for all, and, having very little imagination, he finds it convenient and easy to ignore the brutalities which he cannot prevent. He becomes a minor official in the Party. Being guilty only of failure to act (and failure to foresee the defeat of Hitler), he cannot understand why his American friends should blame him for the death of his Jewish partner's daughter, when protest would only mean certain death for them both. In the end, destroyed by a positive hate which bewilders him, he dies in a spasm of fear, having learned nothing.

*Address Unknown* is a relatively good movie, not so much for what it says but for the echoes which the character of



Schultz rouses in the mind. He is like modern man; he is like Gonzalo in *The Tempest*; he is like a watch with its mainspring broken. We may not identify ourselves with him; but we cannot make the mistake of identifying him as exclusively German. Corruption is no respecter of nations.

Hollywood is, though; and in the film the plot of the story is altered so that the Jewish daughter is revenged, not by her father (a natural enough solution), but by Schultz's own son—an effort, apparently, to avoid the suggestion that a persecuted race ever wants to hit back. It is surely an odd delicacy of mind that would cheerfully substitute parricide for simple revenge; in fact, about the only adequate comment on it is a moral borrowed from one of James Thurber's Fables: "You might as well fall flat on your face as lean too far over backward."

## CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor:

As a representative of Labor and a delegate to the recent World Trade Union Conference, I must register my emphatic protest against the first page editorial appearing in the March issue of *The Canadian Forum* and purporting to represent the view of *The Canadian Forum* in respect to that conference.

It is unfortunate indeed that Forum readers, as well as labor critics generally, were given such biased and cynical editorial opinions.

The World Trade Union Conference was called by the British Trades Union Congress to explore three important matters: (1) What Labor of the Allied Nations could do to assist in bringing about an early military victory; (2) the principles and provisions of the peace settlement with Germany and Japan; and (3) the establishment of a World Trade Union Congress and Labor's part in Peace conferences and a World Security organization.

Having regard to the unique nature of the conference, with delegates representing 60,000,000 workers in many countries and in various stages of development, very considerable progress was made.

The foundations for a World Trade Union Conference have been laid. Labor has agreed and is determined that a world organization, capable of safeguarding the world against war, must be established. Monopolies are branded as one of the basic causes of war and labor is on record to put an end to their operation.

If nothing else had been accomplished, the conference would have been very worthwhile. Indeed, the fact that labor from all the United Nations, as well as from many of the neutral nations came together, learned to know one another better and returned to their respective countries with a better understanding of world problems, would, in itself, have been worthwhile. Much more was accomplished.

In view of the potential importance for good, of the World Conference of Labor, the editorial was ill-timed, ill-considered, faulty in analysis and quite unworthy of the editorial columns of *The Canadian Forum*.

C. H. MILLARD,  
National Director,  
United Steelworkers of America,  
Toronto, Ont.

The Editor:

Your editorial in your March issue on "Trade Union Internationalism" raises some points which call for comment.

The first is your statement that the A. F. of L. refused to attend the recent international conference "because it will

not have anything to do with the Russian trade unions whom it accuses, with some justice, of being only stooges of the totalitarian Soviet government," coupled with your further statement that "If Russian trade unions can be denounced as instruments of national policy, it is a little difficult to see in what category one should put the British unions under Citrine leadership." I had supposed that the A. F. of L. criticism of the Russian unions was based chiefly, or wholly, on their alleged subservience to the Soviet government in purely internal matters, such as wages, hours and working conditions. I was not aware that any such criticism had been made by anybody of the British unions. Your remarks seem to imply that the chief A. F. of L. objection to the Russian unions was that they were mere instruments of Soviet foreign policy, and that British unions were in the same box; or, alternatively, that British unions are as subservient to the British government in internal matters as the Russian unions are alleged to be to the Soviet government. Which did you mean? If the second, what is your evidence for your charge?

Second, you say: "The one point on which all delegations seem to have agreed spontaneously and unanimously was the harsh treatment of Germany, i.e., of German trade unionists." It is quite true that the conference recorded its unanimous agreement with the Crimea Conference decision "to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to take all necessary measures to bring all war criminals and those guilty of Nazi atrocities to justice and stern punishment; to disarm Germany and disband all her armed forces; to break up for all time the German General Staff; to eliminate or destroy all German military equipment, and to bring under Allied control all German industry that can be used for war purposes," and that it also endorsed the decision "to set up machinery to secure full compensation from Germany for the damage it has caused to the Allied countries, with priority to those that have suffered most." Of course, this is bound to involve, incidentally, what you call "harsh treatment" of German trade unionists. But it is surely quite misleading to speak as if "Germany" and "German trade unionists" were synonymous terms, or as if the proposed measures had been aimed at German trade unionists. It is especially misleading in view of the fact that according to the official British trade union summary "Labor News from Britain," Feb. 15, 1945, there was "no dissent at all" from Sir Walter Citrine's declaration that "the social and economic conditions [must] be established within which free democratic institutions, including specifically a free Trade Union Movement, can develop in Germany and the other Axis and satellite countries."

In your final sentence you say that the Christian churches "maintain their ideals unsullied by taking care never to hold international meetings with one another." What dream world are you living in? Manifestly, your statement does not apply to the Roman Catholic Church. But anyone who knows anything at all of the recent history of the Protestant churches, and their relations with the Eastern Orthodox churches, knows that your statement is equally untrue of the non-Roman communions. I can myself recall at least three great international meetings of these communions in the years immediately before the war, all of which produced impressive results. Indeed, such Ecumenical Conferences have been taking place ever since 1910 at least; Edinburgh, Jerusalem, Oxford, Madras, are names that leap to the mind. A further conference of the same kind is already planned for immediately after the war. The late Archbishop of Canterbury was to have convened it; since his death, someone else has been appointed to do so, though I cannot myself give you his name or position. In addition, there have, of course,

for many years been fairly regular international conferences of the Anglican and Episcopal churches, the Methodist churches, and the churches holding the Presbyterian form of church government. The churches may be open to many reproaches; but not to this one. No church member can reasonably object to criticism, or even attacks, based on facts. But attacks based on pure fantasy are another matter.

EUGENE FORSEY,  
Ottawa, Ont.

[Our editorial was about the foreign relations of trade unions, but surely Mr. Forsey must have seen remarks in the last few years about the skill with which Mr. Churchill's state has used Messrs. Bevin's and Citrine's unions in the domestic field. What papers does he read? As for the churches the only real parallel to the recent international conferences of governments or trade unions would be a conference initiated by the Vatican and the See of Canterbury to deal with the post-war settlement.—Ed.]

#### The Editor:

It is an axiom of democracy that every man has the right to argue for the political party of his choice, and against the others. Further, it is acknowledged that the well-known "man on the street" is frequently unfair in his partisanship—we let that go. What is not expected is that the editors of an organ of intellectual opinion should betray in their political comment both bitterness and irrationality.

Criticism is right, proper, and must be continuous. But it should be based on facts, or, when facts are not immediately available, on sound principles, or it degenerates into womanish nagging. Unfortunately, *The Canadian Forum* has this nagging spirit, which explains why it is always wrong, editorially, on the European military situation. (Every *Canadian Forum* comment on the battle-front has been falsified by events before it got into print.) On the civil disturbances in Greece our only journal of opinion has done no better than fall into the trap dug by the pseudo-liberal and anti-British commentators across the border. And so it goes.

Is *The Canadian Forum*, editorially, anti-British then? The first page of the February issue indicates as much. Of the frightful and bloody battle in the Ardennes there is this to say: "All that von Rundstedt has accomplished is to ensure that the Russians will be the first into Berlin"; that is the "hopeful thing." Why? Geography and manpower ensure that the Russians will first enter Berlin, not von Rundstedt. But why is it to be especially hoped?

In the second editorial occurs, almost by accident, a very sound thought. "The idea that there is some inherent quality in Stalinist communism which will impose due limits on Russian imperialist ambitions is too naive, or dishonest, to be worth discussion." Absolutely correct. But then follows a "naive" confession of anti-British bias that is almost completely conscious.

Perhaps there is the hope upon which faithful readers of *The Canadian Forum* must fix; that its editors will become more conscious of the underlying complexes which warp their judgment on these vital issues. For we need *The Canadian Forum*. We need editorials such as "Electoral Reform," articles such as "World Organization for Peace," and "Lessons of the German Counter-Offensive," poems such as "The Wasted Magnificence of Life," all in the February issue. This is fine stuff.

We must also consider our loyalty to the ideal of social-democracy. The only hope for social-democracy in Canada lies in the Commonwealth Party, of which *The Canadian Forum* is reputed to be the intellectual expression, with no very favorable effects on outside opinion. Our hope is that Canadian radicalism will develop the robust, realistic outlook

which by and large the British Labor Party has. And to that end *The Canadian Forum* should help, not hinder.

And so, in vulgar parlance, please snap out of it. Quit identifying Britain with Lady Astor, and Russia with Leo Tolstoy. And quit hankering after a front with Timothy Buck and his fellow conspirators; for that, also, is at the bottom of this matter. With little hope of seeing this in print, but with every good wish for *The Canadian Forum*.

GEORGE McLURE  
Westmount, P.Q.

[We should like to express our good wishes to Mr. McLure also and we are sorry that publication of this letter was by mistake delayed for so long. But we think he should have got himself a holiday in the Laurentians before the ski-ing season broke up.—Ed.]

#### The Editor:

Perhaps you will be interested in a short paragraph from a recent letter to me from my husband, Corporal John L. Lewine, who is in Paris at Supreme Headquarters (U.S. Army), dated April 1st, 1945:

"While I was sitting in the garden of the Musée Rodin I read through the February issue of *The Canadian Forum* which you sent me some time back. This number impressed me, as usual, with the fact that *The Canadian Forum* is the best socialist publication in North America. It contains a number of excellent articles, both on Canadian and world topics. When you finish your copies, don't fail to send them on to me. When I finish with them, I give them to the editors of *Libertés* who use material in them for their weekly which is, in my opinion, the best published in French to-day."

ISABELLA B. LEWINE,  
New York City, U.S.A.

### Comment on a Folk Song

"I'll build me a tower,  
Forty feet high,  
So I can see him  
As he goes by . . ."

For my love is monumental. He strides  
Through clear light, and the stars  
Draw back to his touch. He walks  
In the early evening, nor do I dare to watch  
His long footsteps on the cool wet roads  
Where he passes through the village,  
Far into the pale blue smoke, high  
Into the mountain.

Out of the village walks my love returning  
Homewards when the night is most cool—  
Home, past the people who dare not watch him.

Violet Lang.

**SOCIALISTS, SCIENTISTS, AGNOSTICS:** "J. B. S. Haldane Ably Assails Religion," emphasizing science's abundant constructive potentialities, by Toronto science writer Gordon Caulfield. Outspoken leading article, May issue. "Religion On The Radio, And Societal Forces," June issue. Complimentary copy free. "THE FREETHINKER," 370 West Thirty-Fifth Street, New York 1.

**RESEARCH:** Congressional Library, Government Bureaus, etc. Questions, literary or scientific investigations, genealogy, business errands, attended by experts. Valuable circular, 10c. Crehore, Box 2329-C, Washington 13, D.C.

**WANTED—**Subscription Representatives to handle our new and renewal subscriptions. Previous experience is not required. Payment is by commission. For details please write *The Canadian Forum*, 28 Wellington St. W., Toronto 1, Ontario.

## Strange Scallop

Piping of frogs, and the Pascal moon  
Lifting on an invisible wand  
Her gauzy citron-hued balloon,

White birch in shadow, and the croon  
Of water music, reedily conned  
On waters oboe and bassoon.

There is no surety against pain:  
Only fields like this, and a pond  
Where hylas trill, and from the brain

Miasma lifts, and some slow grain  
Of ease puts up a timid frond;  
And the heart knows its true domain

Is neither home nor house nor street,  
Father or mother or cherished bride,  
Is neither couch nor bread to eat,

But some strange scallop of retreat  
To wind and moving trees allied—  
Where the wild pulses still their beat,

And for an instant the heart takes  
A long deep sighing breath of peace,  
As when a man from coma wakes

And pantingly his fever slakes  
With tinkling water; swift release  
Lightens his pangs and cures his aches.

So the spring night's quiet black,  
Braided with birch and the shadbush fleece,  
Gives a man respite from his lack.

Tumult subsides; the chains go slack;  
For a brief hour he knows surcease  
From the nostalgia and the rack.

*Christine Turner Curtis.*

## Morning Until Night

1

Who could know my gothic garish life  
Starts so simply from morning  
When fresh and forgetful I emerge  
From my red brick tower to stride through fog;  
Then I am milk-young and innocent  
In the wake of alley-cats, smiling and secret  
Against the uneasy memory of night.

The marble steps are white in the morning;  
Pale and white they lead to dark interiors.  
I turn my eyes worshipping to the sun,  
See far ahead of me over the rainbow roofs  
The white spear of the Italian church.

Everything praises this first moment of morning  
Which loops and sings into the early sky  
And spreads its pure curves over the angled city.

2

At noon my light sheds its innocence and is absorbed  
By last night's guilt, two black dogs dart out  
Swift as foxes to confound my eyes,  
And all the sudden wolves that had my dreams  
Revolving on fear startle me with their smiles;  
My fears are everywhere and I through them  
Take changing shape.  
At noon I drown, the pools of silence wash  
Over me in terror.

3

Gradually I enter solitude.  
I open the door and where I thought to see  
Green meadows flowering with my name,  
Miriam, written in wind, a star on the sea  
I meet only the broken face of pain  
That has dogged me all day and now has found the way  
To my secret self. There is no place left  
Hidden and whole. I turn and cry:  
Oh God deliver me from that sad and broken face,  
The crippled laugh and slow relinquishing  
Of life; I would be transformed swift  
As lightning, my evil discovered utterly  
And proclaimed in its own season.

4

Two crows have I harbored long in me.  
Because I loved doves I imprisoned crows,  
Forced them to silence; at night they wakened me  
With constant clamor and drove sleep  
Beyond dawn; no one guessed the hate  
Feeding on silence and devouring me.

Now world mingles, feathers brush my sleep  
And doves and crows fly free.

*Miriam Waddington.*

## Is No One Master Here?

What presence commands  
fealty from these ripe fields  
swooning under the summer sun? Air,  
heavy with heat, rises shimmering  
from the fair,  
sweet-smelling grasses  
and shorn meadow-hay drying beside ditches.  
None save the sun and moon!

The meadows sigh,  
sending up mists of lamentation  
and all speaks desolation.  
Trespassers there have been, shiftless  
despoilers, and one thriftless  
homesteader, who farmed for a season or two,  
then wantonly departed.

Now weeds creep across the broken ground  
and wild vines crawl toward empty buildings.  
Forgetting past treasons,  
sensing, as in a dream  
the revolving seasons,  
passively the soil awaits  
another destiny.

*Edna Ford.*



## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

**TWO SOLITUDES:** Hugh MacLennan; Collins; pp. 270; \$3.00.

Canada should stage a coming-of-age party this year. We have produced two novels of the full stature of manhood; first Philip Grove's *Master of the Mill*, and now Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*. The latter will probably have the more popular appeal. Here is the substance of Canada, her countryside, her cities, her conflicting cultures, and, above all, her people. We move comfortably among them, knowing them for our own, yet, if it were translated into, say Russian, it could be read over there with something of the pleasure we have in reading *War and Peace*. The descriptive passages have a distinguished simplicity. There is no hysteria or stylized smartness, which is restful as being more attuned to the normal Canadian tempo.

"Love consists in this, that two solitudes protect and touch and greet each other," said the poet Rilke, and this is amplified by the author: "So the country brooded on through mid-summer, each part bound to the others like a destiny, even in opposition forming a unit none could dissolve, the point and counterpoint of a harmony so subtle they never guessed its existence."

From his ancient seigneurial holding of Saint-Marc, Athanase Tallard waged a lone battle for liberalism. About him, in his village, in Montreal and in Ottawa weave the lives of the other actors, and even after his death his tragic figure broods on. He went down to Ottawa, as had all the Tallards, but became discredited with his own people because he would not oppose conscription, in 1917.

"What place did reason or intelligence have in politics? The newspapers were like kids picking sides for a fight. The crisis of the war only made them worse, not better."

He quarrelled with his priest, disliking dictation. (His grandfather had once chased a priest through the village with a whip.) He began a philosophical treatise on religion, but the onrushing storm of changing events soon made of it an unhappy memory.

Into the uneasy life of the village came two non-French influences, one a retired English seaman, Captain Yardley, who bought a farm and wished to be one of the community. Later his daughter, married into one of the wealthy English families of Montreal, brought her two small daughters down for the summer, and they played with the young Paul Tallard. The story runs through four periods: 1917-18, 1919-21, 1934 and 1939.

The second influence was that of Huntly McQueen, shrewd Scottish Canadian financier from Montreal. He saw the factory value of the village river and argued that a big industry would give the people money and keep them at home. Said the village priest:

"In the place where I was first curate no one owned anything but the English bosses. There were factories there, but the people owned nothing. They were out of work a quarter of a year around. Good people became miserable, and then they became cheap. . . . They use us for cheap labor and they throw us aside when they're finished."

But McQueen's interests had their way, a spur line was promised from Ottawa, Athanase Tallard mortgaged his lands and lost them, retreating with his second wife and son Paul to Montreal. There, in rebellion and bewilderment, he died, calling on the name of his first wife, the nun-like Marie-Adele, and receiving the sacrament from the church with which he had bitterly quarrelled. To his elder son Marius,

who had become a violent Nationalist, this reconciliation was the one drop of joy in a frustrated life.

The story of McQueen and his St. James street associates would only seem exaggerated to those who have not been caught in the machine. His aim was to consolidate the major industries of the country under his control, if he dared defy a still greater magnate.

"Yes," McQueen thought with satisfaction, "we have discovered a great social secret in Canada. We have contrived to solve problems which would ruin other countries, merely by ignoring their existence."

McQueen valued his friendship with the Methuens for the social prestige it gave him, and when the young Heather revolted against the uselessness of her life, and renewed her childish intimacy with the now penniless Paul, he was called in to assist her mother; but then occurred the death of his greater rival, and the imposing ritual necessary for the funeral obscured all else.

"You would think God had died," commented Heather.

The influence of Captain Yardley is felt throughout. His sane earthiness constantly pulls the synthetic life of his daughter with the Methuen set back to norm, and provides a haven for his grand-daughter Heather. In the end he gave up Saint-Marc and returned to Nova Scotia, his birthplace.

"Saint-Marc," he said, "has been changing ever since your mother's friend McQueen put that factory into it. It's pretty near a good-sized town now, all filled up with unemployed and every other damn thing a town needs to feel itself important."

No longer did the villagers drop in casually to play checkers and talk in the store of Polycarpe Drouin. They gathered in a community hall and played organized bingo.

"Trouble with me is," said Yardley, "I never could take fellas like McQueen seriously, and if you want to get along in this town (Montreal) you've got to take everything seriously. I never even tried."

When the book is closed, with Paul enlisted for the war of 1939, Athanase Tallard returns to memory and dominates the whole. Imagined intensively and drawn with surety, this figure will live in Canadian literature. His brief epitaph, delivered by his son Paul years later was:

"He was a remarkable man. He would have been completely at home in nineteenth century Europe, and that made him about fifty years ahead of his time in Canada." Paul found some of his papers, and only then was he able to appreciate the quality of his father's mind. But the set-up had been too much for him.

Eleanor McNaught.

**REPORT ON THE RUSSIANS:** W. L. White; McLeod; (Harcourt, Brace and Company); pp. 309; \$3.25.

This is a book of which all decent, fair-minded Americans will feel thoroughly ashamed. (We would, of course, say the same with respect to Canadians had the book been written by a Canadian.) For it is less a report on the Russians than on a certain type of American — the type which the American Dream has blinded, not only to reality, but to the dreams of all other peoples. It is the type which hates and fears the example of Soviet collectivism, and is determined to do everything possible to prevent other Americans from getting the truth about its achievements.

Bill White (one calls him Bill as inevitably as one calls Quentin Reynolds Quent or Roy Howard Roy) spent six weeks in the Soviet Union as a privileged travelling companion of Eric Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, who went there to get first-hand in-

formation on Soviet industry and the prospect of Soviet-American trade relations after the war, and who was given every opportunity to see what he wanted. Mr. Johnston was able to secure permission for a number of American correspondents in Moscow to accompany him. Soviet functionaries went out of their way to show the American captain of industry the best they had, in development and in hospitality. And Bill White tagged along—as “roving editor” for the *Reader's Digest*, although he does not seem to have disclosed this connection to the Russians.

Bill White could scarcely avoid reporting at least something of what he saw. But unfortunately, so much of it was complimentary to Russia that, standing by itself, it would have defeated his object. So he adds his own deductions, reflections and innuendoes, many of which are so completely naive and irrelevant as to leave a fair-minded reader gasping. To Bill White, the really significant facts about the Russians were the scarcity of American plumbing, the dinginess of certain hotels, the bareness of shop windows and the emptiness of city streets, the pasty complexions of women workers, the occasional clumsiness of youthful factory hands, and the gold teeth of not-so-young actresses. He contrasts these evidences of depravity in a country totally mobilized for war and lately over-run by the Nazi hordes, and depriving itself even of essentials in order to feed the guns, with the comforts and luxuries of the great American home front, and exclaims exultantly: “You see! After all, capitalism is best!” His only reaction to the pathetic attempts of his hosts to provide him with the best food, accommodation and entertainment that circumstances would permit is a facetious disgust for endless champagne and caviar and a nostalgia for American actresses who are young and pretty and who have no need of gold teeth.

It is obviously impossible for even a trained observer—which Bill White is not—to make any sort of valid report on a country as vast and various as the USSR after a flying visit of six weeks, even if he could speak any of the Soviet languages—which Bill White cannot. It is surprising, therefore, that there should be in this “report” so much that is calculated to increase one's admiration and respect for the Russians. Unfortunately, however, what factual reporting there is only lends a specious objectivity to a book that is deliberately dishonest and malicious.

One wonders, on the other hand, what impression the Russians could have formed of these glittering products of capitalism from such incidents as the following, which occurred at a dinner to the visitors after a tour of a milk farm near Moscow, and which is recounted with gusto by White:

“The director's wife, a serious, weather-beaten farm woman who has a college degree, is telling us through the interpreter about the problem of raising the animals.

“Eric, in high spirits, asks if they have any skunks. The answer, when it comes, is no.

“Tell them that when we don't like someone in America, we call them a skunk!”

“This is translated and the farmers nod gravely.

“Da-da,” says the director, which in Russian means, ‘Yes, yes.’ Only sometimes the phrase strikes the American ear as comic.

“Eric looks around the table with his contagious smile. ‘Da-da!’ he says, mimicking a baby. And then, pointing his finger around the table, he says ‘da-da-da-da-da-da’ as though it were a tommy gun mowing them down. This American sense of humor somewhat breaks down their Russian gravity.

“At this point one of the waitresses—they are all healthy, big-bosomed, barefooted farm girls—brings a bouquet of field flowers from the collective's garden, which is presented to Eric. He rises superbly to the occasion. Getting up from his seat, he presents it to the director's wife with a bow. She also rises.

“‘And tell her,’ says Eric, with his contagious smile around the table, ‘that in America it is the custom to kiss the wife of the director.’

“But she draws away.

“‘She says,’ translates Jennie, ‘that this is not a Russian custom.’

“‘Tell her that it is an American custom.’

“The weather-beaten woman said something slowly and firmly in Russian.

“‘She says,’ Jennie translated, ‘that we are not now in America.’

“In the end, however, Eric Johnston won. For when we went outside to have our pictures taken, he seized an opportunity, in front of the Russian movie camera, to kiss the director's wife lightly and playfully on the brow.”

To which Bill White adds: “This is a mutually educational tour.” It must have been.

Other newspaper men who have been long in Russia, some of them members of this same Johnston tour, have pointed out dozens of errors and misstatements in White's “report,” and both they and Mr. Johnston have repudiated it as an “interpretation.” Alexander Kendrick, Moscow correspondent of the *Philadelphia Enquirer*, has revealed that certain incidents “related” by White—one particularly malicious in its implications—are pure fabrications. Kendrick declares that by seeming to justify Moscow's distrust of American newspaper men, White's book has made their job in Russia more difficult, just as they were on the verge of gaining greater latitude in reporting Russian affairs.

But we fear that all this will only serve to give Bill White's “report” greater weight in some quarters. Can't you hear them, in luncheon clubs, in smoking cars, in hotel lobbies, across the continent—the whispers of all the Bill Whites, as they nod and wink at each other: “Oh yes, of course. They had to discredit him—while there's a war on. But now we know the truth about Russia. One of us has spilled the beans.”

C. M.

HERE AND NOW: Irving Layton: First Statement, New Writers Series No. 1; pp. 36.

Perhaps under the guise of poetry people feel freer to speak with naked honesty. But although poetry may be the vehicle for honest statement, the writing of poetry is not just a matter of fitting an impersonal “guise” over the naked conviction, emotion, vision. Mr. Layton's statements are not really poetry. Take the first stanza of “Winter Scene”:

“Almost any half-lit street  
compromised by snow  
is a portent for a wit  
or a lady's cameo.”

In poetry the last line would have sounded integral, the “compromised” would not have had a self-conscious ring, and the sense of the “portent . . .” would have compelled conviction as well as cerebration.

And yet, “Mother, This Is Spring,” for example, reaches a high point in both intelligibility and impact. Throughout the book, impact and complexity of expression are in inverse

ratio. The fusion necessary to poetry may, in Mr. Layton's case, wait upon either technical competence or developing conviction. Perhaps his sundering reef is the underlying assumption that honest men are rare, and alien.

The reader of this collection will respect its author, and his observations. If the publishers continue their series on the basis of validity of statement, and not of poetic pretension, they will be serving a worthy purpose in a community of people who badly need to know themselves and one another more profoundly.

Margaret Avison.

UNIT OF FIVE: edited by Ronald Hambleton; Ryerson; pp. 87; \$2.00.

This is a small collection of the work of five young (under 30) Canadian poets: Louis Dudek, Ronald Hambleton, P. K. Page, Raymond Souster and James Wreford. Three of these are in Smith's anthology, though represented there by earlier and less interesting work, and all five should be familiar to *Canadian Forum* readers. The title may mislead some into thinking that these poets all belong to one "school," and are all saying much the same thing, which would be an unfortunate error, there being at least as much variety as unity in the collection.

Dudek and Hambleton are both very good, often startlingly good. My preference for Dudek may be only a matter of personal taste: in Hambleton certain mannerisms which he shares with a group of post-Eliot English poets make his work sound more derivative. Chief among these are a highly developed faculty of allusion, a pleasure in digesting the long words which are difficult to digest in poetry (known in the trade as "aureate diction"), and an intellectual-colloquial splutter deriving ultimately from Donne. Dudek on the other hand is a good poet who does not remind us of better ones; his work has a novelty of cadence very seldom found in modern poetry except where it has become part of a formula. He is a fresh and attractive writer; he is not afraid to be naive; he does not, like Hambleton, bury his feelings in a conventional diction; his lines slide easily into the mind and do not easily slide out again. The imagery of both poets is frequently obscure, but for different reasons: Dudek because he sets the image down directly that seems to him to be the right one at that point, without worrying about its obvious relationship to the larger pattern of the poem; Hambleton because an intellectual interest guides the choice of images and often distorts them in doing so. Dudek's is an obscurity that will later disappear, for with practice the larger pattern will clarify along with the individual image. The one poem in which interest in the larger pattern runs away with him, the final long one called "The Sea," is, with its self-consciously tight stanza, an exciting and promising failure. Hambleton's is the obscurity of modern poetry generally, and looks back to the immediate past, when the more thoughtful poets had to turn to private associations in symbolism because of the breakdown of conventional religious and romantic ones. Dudek's poetry, I hope, looks to the immediate future, to a wider and sounder appreciation of poetry, and to a corresponding increase of the poet's self-confidence.

In Miss Page's work there is a self-conscious and manipulative technique of description, a rather metallic glitter, which frequently takes the form of a series of imaginative wisecracks. This is, however, appropriate enough to the metropolitan setting of her poetry, and is unsatisfactory only when an irresponsible verbalism runs away with the feeling. Raymond Souster illustrates another familiar dilemma of the modern poet: he has strong and sound feelings about social injustice and war, and he expresses them with great

sincerity, energy and honesty. Now a socially-minded poet may well become restless at seeing how greatly all other forms of human communication have been speeded up, while poetry remains as laborious and indirect as ever; so he may try to streamline his medium by bringing it down to the advertisement's level of automatic response, or by increasing the violence of his language so as to make that response less lethargic. Mr. Souster has chosen the latter method, and the integrity of his work is marred by an adolescent shrewishness. He is not so much a poet misled by the notion that poetry can become an effective social weapon, however, as a man of goodwill who has taken up poetry as an epigrammatic means of self-expression.

Mr. Wreford is "romantic" in the sense of accepting the validity of the immediate personal relation to life as opposed to the qualification of it by social or intellectual interests. His rhythm is more even and his vocabulary more traditional than that of the others, and his more limited technical objectives make his poetry seem more balanced and assured. There is, of course, the danger of facility in this, but in the meantime some very lovely poems. These vague and general comments will have to do in lieu of the exhaustive critical analysis which the tiny book well deserves, and which we have no space for: all I can say is that its 87 pages are full of the real thing, and are entitled not only to the applause of those who get free copies, but the encouragement of those who buy.

Northrop Frye.

LATIN AMERICA IN THE FUTURE WORLD: George Soule and others; Oxford (Farrar and Rinehart); pp. 372; \$4.25.

Security against aggression, trade expansion and social security were the problems which beset the statesmen of the American Republics when they met in conference in Mexico City in February. Except for Mexico and Brazil, the rôle of Latin America in winning the war, has largely been that of the passive provider of strategic war materials. The United States has become as dependent upon Latin America for the tin, rubber, quinine and oil no longer available from the Orient, as is Latin America on the United States for the machinery and capital needed to industrialize her resources.

Of Course, the Entire Intelligent World Knows that Hitler is Nuts, but Here, for the First Time, is Scientific Evidence of His Insanity

## MENTAL DEFICIENCY AND PARANOIA Hitler's Mind and Similar Minds

By B. Liber, M.D., Psychiatrist, Director of a Mental Hygiene Clinic in N.Y.C., author of "Your Mental Health"

Just what's wrong with Hitler? We ordinary people have watched and heard him for years, with the result that we know he's as screwy as a barrel of cels, but few of us know just what it is that Hitler is afflicted with. Science knows what's wrong with his brain and nervous system, and Dr. Liber, one of our foremost psychiatrists, tells what scientific medicine knows about Hitler's mind.

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"The inescapable responsibility of living generations" write the authors, "is the organization of a peaceful world in which the aspirations to establish human dignity and the full development of the individual may be progressively fulfilled." How Latin America and the United States can achieve this ideal, how they have co-operated to help win the war and what the human, and material resources of Latin America are, is the theme of their book. The first part deals with the purchasing power of the Latin American worker, and his consequent capacity to help keep the United States worker working after the war.

"In several Latin American countries the ability of the workers to purchase the very food they produce is considerably lower than that of the workers of the United States or Canada, where the same items have to be imported. In Cuba an average hourly worker's wage will buy only 2.070 kilograms of sugar in contrast to 4.582 in Canada." Employing 90% of the Cuban workers are the handful of "foreign-owned sugar companies and Cuban-owned cattle ranches monopolizing three-quarters of the tillable land." These companies leave unused 3,333,000 acres of land which could have been used to grow the nutritional foods so sadly lacking in Cuba that a "family of five has a calorie intake of not higher than the minimum requirement for a single worker."

Bolivia supplies the United States with most of her tin. Between 1929 and 1940, the cost of living there rose 700%. "In the camps of the Compania Huanchaca, for 12,000 tin workers there is not a single house with an individual toilet. Tuberculosis affects 75 to 90% of the people . . . there are .04 hospital beds as contrasted to 10.73 per 1,000 in the United States . . . malaria decimates the population and although cinchona bark, from which quinine is made, originated in Bolivia, Bolivia imports quinine because production and distribution of the drug is a monopoly of the 'Kina Bureau' of Amsterdam," now in Japanese hands. "Profits of this company are supposed to have been as high as 600% yearly before the war. Modern Western economies tended to keep large densely-populated areas as raw material, cheap labor hinterlands before the war." When they overthrew the Spanish colonial empire, the landowners of Latin America wanted a slice of the world trade markets from which Spain had debarred them. They did not propose dividing up their lands with their Indian laborers. British capital invested in their agricultural development (e.g., cattle ranches in Argentina) and transport, tended to consolidate their control of the land. At one time the Church owned half the arable land in Latin America and established the principle of tax-free lands, still largely prevalent there.

Awaking to the threat of foreign monopolies becoming "sub-states in their midst," Latin American governments have established government corporations for the development of production and have besought the United States Treasury for loans, to industrialize their countries. The Chilean Development Corporation has complete control over any industry, and is developing the manufacture of agricultural machinery, irrigation projects, cold storage plants and warehouses, chemical, metallurgical, textile industries and hydro-electric power.

The Interamerican Development Commission, on the other hand, is controlled by all governments of the American Republics, and was formed at the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1942. Its purpose is to develop inter-American transport, by highway, airplane, steamship and railway and to exploit the natural resources of the Western Hemisphere, primarily for war purposes, and to better the living standards of the people. It encourages public, semi-public and private investment

from the United States and Latin America in the industrial and agricultural development plans approved or drawn up by Interamerican Engineers, Agriculturists and other similar organizations in conjunction with the Latin American Development Commission such as the Chilean Corporation for Production.

Will the United States Congress approve these plans aimed at eventual nationalization by Latin American governments of their most important resources? What will be the reaction, for instance, of Pan American Airways to supervision by an inter-American airways commission, and what political pressure can it bring to bear against such supervision in peacetime?

These are a few of the questions the authors leave unanswered. They suggest a companion volume that will be equally indispensable to the student, industrialist, and statesman interested in developing Canada's economic, social and political ties with Latin America.

Josephine Hambleton.

CHUNGKING DIALOGUES: Lin Mousheng; Longmans Green & Co. (The John Day Co.); pp. 149; \$2.50.

It is a time-honored Chinese custom for men to meet in the tea houses or quiet pavilions for good talk. Over bowls of tea they sit for hours and discuss politics, crops, history, art and the classics.

In *Chungking Dialogues*, Dr. Lin has caught the authentic atmosphere of these traditional Chinese discussion groups. The book takes the form of ten dialogues, between five Chinese representing five different points of view. There is the philosopher with his knowledge of history and the

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*Why Am I Fighting: Topside and Underside Views of the American Soldier's Personal War Aims* (April)

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Chinese classics, who is an ardent follower of Confucius and the "great way"; the professor, who views every subject academically and impersonally; the judge, a conservative, who yearns for yet fears change; the radical student, who argues for political and social upheaval; and a young woman of high school education who, by interposing questions to clarify the discussions, represents the curious and interested "man in the street."

During the ten meetings of this citizens' forum, they discuss most of China's problems—systems of government, political parties, educational and social reforms, industrialization, the philosophy of Confucius and the political theories of Sun Yat-Sen.

The book presents China through the thoughts and words of intelligent Chinese. It does not develop any startling new theories. The conclusions drawn are usually for a middle course—"our traditional spirit of reasonableness and compromise." But the theories and conclusions are Chinese, and for that reason alone, the book should not be overlooked by anyone interested in China and her present-day problems. We are too apt to view China in the light of the systems and solutions of the Occidental world, ignoring the fact that China must develop her own new world out of her own past and present, rather than tear out all roots and plant again. As Wang, the book's moderator and philosopher concludes—"Although I admire the American and British systems of government, although I value Russia as a great human laboratory, I insist that we Chinese must find our own solutions to our own problems. Try as we may, we cannot become an America or an England or a Russia."

*Catherine Baker-Carr.*

**THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE:** Richard Gregg; Fellowship Publications; pp. 253; \$2.00.

This is a new edition of Mr. Gregg's book which was first published in 1935. In view of the Second World War he has cut several chapters (among them, unfortunately, *The Class Struggle*) and written three new chapters on Persuasion, Discipline, and The Need for Discipline.

Rather tiresomely repetitious at times, he does not quite seem to have grasped the fact that analogy is not proof. Hence he treats us to some long tedious scientific data which is rather out of place. But on the whole, the book is full of psychological truth and "uncommon sense" as Shaw would say. One could have wished that he had more to say about the desirability of non-violence in education, since it is in childhood that most of us are made painfully aware that Might is Right. That corporal punishment should be

tolerated in homes, schools and prisons in non-Fascist countries is a strange anomaly and the root of much evil.

Perhaps the chief criticism of the book is that, though true, it is one-sided. Goodwill and self-discipline are not enough, without law, to keep the peace among neighbors in this imperfect world: so in international affairs this psychological approach must be combined with a move towards international law and government and economic improvement. (I do not like his approval of economic autarky on page 136.)

Rufus Jones' introduction to the first edition is here reprinted with its interpretation of the ancient Hebrew legend of Jehovah denying Moses entry to the Promised Land, not because he had doubted Jehovah or because he had doubted himself, "but you lost faith in this people and doubted the divine possibilities of human nature. That I cannot forgive. That loss of faith makes it impossible for you to enter the Land of Promise."

Delegates to San Francisco, please note.

*Gwenyth Grube.*

**CANADA AND THE WORLD TOMORROW:** edited by Violet Anderson; Ryerson; pp. 159; paper, \$1.25.

This is a collection of the lectures given at the Couchiching Institute last summer. They cover a wide range of topics, and as one reads them one wishes that there were more on each topic. Dr. Malcolm Wallace, defending the program of the Institute against the charge that it is too heterogeneous, points out that it is an experiment in popular education rather than a school of research. The chapters are grouped into two sections, International Affairs and Canadian Affairs. They are full of good stuff, and at the end of each is a series of questions for discussion groups and also a short list of further reading. To this reader the best parts of the book seemed to be the lecture by Senator Bouchard on Quebec and the one by George Davidson on Health Insurance. Mr. Davidson is now Deputy Minister of Welfare at Ottawa, and his lecture has special significance when he points out that the experience of other countries with health insurance has been that it inevitably leads to a more completely organized scheme of socialized medicine. It is refreshing to have Deputy Ministers, or ex-Ministers like Senator Bouchard, say exactly what is in their minds.

*F. H. U.*

**PLANNING FOR FREEDOM:** Ontario CCF; pp. 180; \$1.00.

This book, consisting of 16 lectures on the CCF, its policies and program, sponsored by the membership education committee of the Ontario CCF, is an explanation, not a formulation, of the party's principles and platform. While the lecturers spoke on their own responsibility as individuals, each is an authority on his own subject, and the editors declare that the book "presents in substance an invaluable source of material for those who are anxious to have a clearer picture of what the election of a CCF government would mean for Canada." The nature of the contents is best indicated by the topics of discussion and the respective lecturers. They are: *The Nature of Economic Planning*, by Frank Scott; *Freedom and the CCF*, by George Grube; *Socialized Health Services*, by T. F. Nicholson; *Community Planning and Housing*, by P. A. Deacon; *Marching Home to What?*, by Clarie Gillis, M.P.; *Social Ownership, Dominion and Provincial*, by E. B. Jolliffe, K.C., M.P.P.; *Social Ownership*,

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WHAT AMERICA THINKS: William A. Lydgate; Oxford (Thomas Y. Crowell); pp. 167; \$3.00.

Mr. Lydgate is an important man in the Gallup organization, and he has written here a very interesting little book giving some of his conclusions about American public opinion after a long experience in measuring it. At the end of the book he has a chapter explaining how a poll is taken. His experiences have made him a firm believer in the sound common sense of his people. He points out that the great majority of the people are regularly in advance of both Congress and the Executive, that they were prepared to go into war from the summer of 1940 after France fell, that they favored the republic in Spain and opposed selling munition materials to Japan, that there are no wide sectional differences of opinion about foreign policy. The reason that Congress has lagged so far behind popular opinion, he thinks, is that it is subject to the influence of particular pressure groups. He also points out that the polls show a strong critical feeling towards labor, and that trade unions have not paid enough attention to their public relations. His analysis of the G.O.P. is even more damning. Among other things, incidentally, which the polls have discovered is that the women's vote does not differ much from the men's, and that neither political speeches nor party platforms seem to have any effect on public opinion. Dr. Gallup and his assistants came in for some rather damaging criticism after the last presidential election for the manner in which they had weighted their sampling of opinion during the period before the election. But this book is a disarming and attractive presentation of the service that is rendered by the public opinion polls.

F. H. U.

BURMA: Ma Mya Sein; Oxford University Press; pp. 39; 30c.

In this pamphlet the author, a distinguished Burmese woman, gives a brief survey of the geography and history of Burma, and a description of the people and of their economic development. While not in favor of some of Britain's policies in the government, she believes that, had war with the Japanese not intervened, Burma was on the way toward becoming a dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. She does not make it clear whether she sees Burma's future in this same light now, but she considers that "any attempt to reconstruct Burma after the war can only succeed if it gets full nationalist sympathy behind it. At the same time Burmese nationalists need to be less absorbed with the internal problems of Burma and to take more cognizance of world affairs."

Catherine Baker-Carr.

POLO PALS: May Hall Thompson; Caxton; pp. 214; \$2.50 (U.S.A.)

COBI CAMEL: Nell Smidell Nesbitt; Caxton; pp. 159; \$2.50 (U.S.A.)

These are two books for young people. *Polo Pals* describes the actionful life of a boy who attends a ranch school where polo is the chief sport. The setting is very western. There are mustangs, cow-punchers and horse thieves. The destiny of the principal characters hinges upon a final, very exciting polo game. The story is presented to its juvenile audience with intelligence and sympathy and stresses the value of polo in developing character, a sense of teamwork, as well as good horsemanship.

*Cobi Camel* is told in the anthropomorphic fashion that characterizes the animated cartoon, in which an animal representation of humanity is most acceptable to the child mind. It is brightly written, well-illustrated and has the exotic attraction of a desert background. The main point of the narrative is a lesson in kindness. The author shows considerable skill and experience in her approach to young readers.

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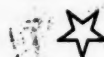
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